

SPAIN AND CUBA.

THE

GENEVA PAMPHLET

ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN

SPAIN AND CUBA,

*PRECEDED BY AN EXPLANATION OF THE INTEREST
WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE IN THE
SOLUTION OF THE CUBAN DIFFICULTY.*

GENEVA, FEBRUARY 8, 1876.

NEW YORK:
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1876.

Jorriñ y Braniosio, José Silverio

SPAIN AND CUBA.

THE

GENEVA PAMPHLET

ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN

SPAIN AND CUBA,

*PRECEDED BY AN EXPLANATION OF THE INTEREST
WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE IN THE
SOLUTION OF THE CUBAN DIFFICULTY.*

GENEVA, FEBRUARY 8, 1876.

8
7
3 7 5 1
2 1
1 1 2 3

NEW YORK :
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
549 & 551 BROADWAY.
1876.

GIFT
KATHERINE J. FISHER
JUNE 24 1940

123456789

42-416215

RL 26542

EXPLANATION.

“THE scientific and literary progress of Cuba and Porto Rico, their population and wealth, especially with the former, the growing extent and importance of their foreign commerce, placed them in an exceptional condition, requiring very different laws from those in observance in other provinces beyond the seas.”—CANOVAS DEL CASTILLO, *Decree, November 25, 1865.*

“We can better proceed, in the present situation of things, without even this friendly intervention.

“A time will come when the good offices of the United States will be not only useful, but indispensable, in the final arrangements between Spain and Cuba. We will ascertain the form in which they can be employed, and confidently count upon your assistance.”—*General PRIM.*

“In this early instruction was expressed the sincere and unselfish hope of the President that the Government of Spain would seek some honorable and satisfactory adjustment, based upon emancipation and self-government, which would restore peace, and afford a prospect of a return of prosperity to Cuba.

.....
The material interests of trade and of commerce are impaired to a degree which calls for remonstrance, if not for another line of conduct, on the part of all commercial nations.”
—HAMILTON FISH, *Note, November 5, 1875.*

We beg leave to offer to the American public the translation of a pamphlet published at Geneva last February, on the present condition of Cuba, which has attracted a good deal of attention in the Spanish press. It has been said to embody

the sentiments of the prime-minister of Alfonso XII., Señor Canovas del Castillo, and coincides to a certain extent with the views of the Secretary of State of this republic.

Having for many years given great attention to all that relates to the island of Cuba, we make bold to assert that we have read no public document, or either public or private expression of opinion, coming from a distinguished or well-known statesman, wherein the importance of that island to this country has been belittled or denied. We have seen it stated that the acquisition of the Great Antille would necessitate a powerful navy to hold it within the Union, while it is obvious that the long line of low coasts in the South without guarded ports, and the trade flowing into the Gulf from the Mississippi, would be paramount motives for keeping a powerful navy for the defense of the one and the protection of the other; and those familiar with the subject will remember the anxiety with which our zealous public men have urged the principle that Cuba should never be allowed to fall into the hands of a first-rate naval power. In addition to these vital considerations there is another which awakens the interest in our relations with that island: the critical condition in which it is placed by a civil war of eight years, and the hostility evinced in the Spanish tariffs and the consequent reduction of our exports, cannot be looked upon without deep concern.

The imports from Cuba, consisting of sugar, molasses, tobacco, etc., etc., amount to eighty-five per cent. of all exports from that island, of which Spain consumes only two per cent. From the United States official statistics, we know that the people of this country have bought Cuban products as follows, during six years:

1868 to 1869.....	\$56,976,491
1869 to 1870.....	53,777,108
1870 to 1871.....	57,534,925
1871 to 1872.....	67,264,315
1872 to 1873.....	77,077,725
1873 to 1874.....	85,428,097
Total.....	<u>\$398,058,661</u>

During the same period Spain has bought from the United States:

1868 to 1869.....	\$11,816,020
1869 to 1870.....	12,879,287
1870 to 1871.....	13,768,000
1871 to 1872.....	12,960,841
1872 to 1873.....	15,117,767
1873 to 1874.....	15,677,716
Total.....	<hr/> \$82,219,621
Balance against United States.....	\$315,839,040

This is the more astonishing, that Cuba needs the products of the United States; she requires millions of pounds of beef and pork, which cannot come from Texas or the Northwest in consequence of the high and differential duties, and so respecting other articles.

But Spanish vessels can load at Barcelona with wine, oil, and manufactures, for the markets of Buenos Ayres, where they load in exchange with jerked beef for the mass of the population of Cuba.

If the people of the United States did not purchase the Cuban exports, we do not see that Spain could easily find a market in South America for her products, nor Buenos Ayres a market in Cuba for her beef. The rice of our Southern States is also repelled from its nearest and natural market in Cuba by high and differential duties. To supply its place, this article is bought now at Calcutta or other ports of India, by Liverpool merchants, and brought to England, discharged at the bonded warehouses, and shipped in Spanish vessels to Cuba, a transaction which is made possible by the fact that British legislation does not retaliate the differential duties imposed on foreign flags on that island.

The basis, therefore, of this commerce, which swells the carrying-trade of other nations, consists unequivocally in the purchase of eighty-five per cent. of the exports of the Antille by the United States. It seems unnatural that even perishable articles should come across the ocean, from Spain and the Canary Islands, when they might be obtained more advantageously from the nearest neighbor. It has happened that, while the flour of America and that of Turkey have gone to supply the wants of Great Britain, Spain, under her restrictive system, unable to appear in a foreign market so near to her as

the British Isles, has brought her cereals to Cuba, whence the American producer is repelled.

The dry-goods trade, owing to Spanish fiscal legislation and American retaliating enactments, together with cheap European labor, has been absorbed by Catalonia and Great Britain, some by France and Germany, absolutely nothing by New England manufacturers.

The difference between what we imported from tropical countries in 1872 to 1873, as compared with what we sent to them, was \$102,000,000, distributed as follows:

In favor of Cuba.....	\$62,000,000
In favor of Porto Rico.....	10,000,000
In favor of Brazil.....	25,000,000
In favor of Manila, East Indies.....	5,000,000

No one now believes in what was called the balance of trade as showing a positive loss. Just as an individual who ships goods receives back the value in some shape or other, the aggregate number of shippers who make the whole of the exports receive in return the value of the same. But this notwithstanding, it is evident that the consumer of the staple articles of any country is the one to stimulate production, wealth, and general development of said country. Can it be reasonable that the people of the United States, consuming in six years nearly \$400,000,000 of Cuban products, should only sell in exchange \$82,000,000 of American products? Have we no good ground to expect and desire that the impulse given to the wealth of the nation by investments in cotton, cereals, beef, coal, iron, lumber, manufactures, etc., should also be derived from investments in the tropical products; and is there any one spot on earth so especially pointed out by Nature as the island of Cuba for reciprocity and prosperous interchange? Without entering into details, the result of a trade so constrained seems to be the payment of our balances in gold, or bills of exchange, which are equal to gold, and constituting in London our clearing-house instead of having it in our own ports.

A gentleman of more ability than his modesty will admit, who was kind enough to furnish the items herein quoted in his

views of the development promoted by a great consumer, fixes numerically the ratio of this growth, contending that the people of the United States are now supporting something like five millions of inhabitants outside of the Union, instead of an equal number within if the conditions of consumption were reciprocal. We have now briefly adduced motives for very strong interest in the fate and proper organization of the trade of the island of Cuba. And in the general prostration of business and decrease in our shipping, and depreciation of our city and rural property, can we afford to lose altogether the trade of that island by the destructive warfare which is devastating it? On this subject¹ the Hon. Secretary of State, in note of November 5, 1875, says :

“The United States purchase more largely than other people of the productions of the island of Cuba, and therefore more than any other, for this reason (and still more by reason of its immediate neighborhood), is interested in the arrest of a

¹ Value of the produce and merchandise exported from Cuba to the United States, and of what was imported into Cuba from American ports during the fiscal years of 1870 and 1871, according to official data in the Treasury Department at Washington :

EXPORTED FROM CUBA.

Sugars.....	\$47,507,417
Melado	9,201,317
Molasses.....	3,280,630
Tobacco in leaf.....	3,314,506
Cigars.....	2,523,704
Fruits.....	518,805
Other products.....	1,348,150
Total	<u>\$67,691,529</u>

IMPORTED INTO CUBA.

United States produce and merchandise.....	\$17,600,787
Foreign produce and merchandise in warehouse in the United States.....	1,795,789
Total.....	<u>\$19,396,576</u>

These sums would make a general movement of trade of \$87,091,105, but, according to the ex-Intendente Mariano Cancio Villamil, the exports and imports are no less than \$115,000,000 to \$125,000,000 ; and the statistics corresponding to the year 1874 show \$85,000,000 of exports to the United States, and \$15,000,000 of imports from the same.

system of wanton destruction which disgraces the age and affects every commercial people on the face of the globe.”

Apart from the exigencies of immediate neighborhood and the interchange of commercial relations growing out of this vicinity, there is the fate of the citizens of the United States and the destruction of their property substantiated in the note of Hon. Hamilton Fish, already quoted.

But, coming to more recent events, our citizens have been grievously injured by the desultory course of taxation imposed for national objects in utter disregard of the existing organic law¹ of municipalities and decrees guaranteeing justice in the distribution of burdens. Thus the expedition to Mexico, the conquest of San Domingo, the station of Fernando Po,² the diplomatic legations in this hemisphere, the expenses caused by the war of the Pacific, the yearly remittances to Spain from the Havana treasury, the disbursements to carry on the Carlist War, and, finally,³ the robberies committed by

¹ Organic municipal law of July 27, 1859, and financial circulars.

² Remittances to Spain	\$34,172,693 60
Cost of expedition to Mexico and San Domingo	18,000,000 00
Cost of the present civil war in Cuba up to the date of the official document.....	62,900,000 00
Cost of the support of the station of Fernando Po for eighteen years at \$289,478...	5,210,604 00
Cost of legations and consulates of Spain in Mexico and the republics of the Pacific..	53,700 00

The above items from the official budget to the Cortes of October 26, 1871, formed part of the debt referred to in General Concha's decree of July 10, 1874.

To the same effect Intendente Don Mariano Cancio Villamil, in official report, December, 1873, states that the proposition to have the Cuban debt recognized by Spain had failed, although “it is not possible to take away from this debt its national character by reason of its origin, as it proceeds from general obligations created by the Supreme Government in the military enterprises of Mexico and San Domingo and in the defense of the integrity of the national territory.”

³ The ex-Intendente Mariano Cancio de Villamil, in an exposition dated December 4, 1874, addressed to the Secretary of the Colonies, says that “the frauds committed by the officials and merchants of the island are proved in various ways, and among others because the administrative papers of the dues show unquestionably that goods have been manifested, discharged, and entered superior in quantity and quality to those appraised

the financial officials of Spain, have caused a deficit in the fiscal resources for which American citizens have been taxed five per cent. on their capital, fifteen per cent. on their revenue in gold, ten per cent. in currency also on their revenue, upon assessments arbitrarily made, with no heed to sworn statements, or law and regulations.

This cheerless picture of the position of the American citizen in Cuba becomes more galling by the discovery recently made of a treaty entered into between Germany and Spain on the 30th of March, 1868.

By Article V. of the same, German subjects are exempted from extraordinary war-taxes, and its application to Cuba was made the subject of an additional treaty entered into on the 16th of July of the same year, Article II. of which enacts:

“The same stipulations of said treaty of 30th of March, 1868, notwithstanding the existing laws and administrative decrees for Spanish colonial possessions, shall be extended to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands.”

In the impossibility of disregarding the claims of Germany, the authorities of Cuba have privately given orders to suspend coercive measures against German subjects without publishing the origin of such leniency, and it is asserted that they are preparing the substitution of the several war-taxes, by one which shall be called unique, and that will not express the object for which it is imposed.¹

and paid for, to the extent that, in only fifty-two entries which have called for another liquidation, appears a loss to the treasury of \$135,272.” He also states that the action of the officials in the abuses committed is more serious and censurable at these times, because the country is in arms defending its integrity, for which it needs all its resources, and has created a large debt to make up what has been in part unlawfully appropriated.—CANCIO VILLAMIL’s *Exposition to the Minister of the Colonies*.

¹ The law of strangers, promulgated by the Spanish Cortes in 1870, does not cancel the concessions by treaties or previous legislation. So far from it, by Article XXXIII., foreigners are required to pay “all classes of taxes which according to the laws, regulations, and tariffs, may correspond to the industry or commerce which they should practise.” The interpretation by the island authorities is to the effect that foreigners are required to pay all classes of taxes regardless of the laws, regulations, and tariffs, in observance in 1870. Article XXXIV., which does not conflict with the

It seems to us that in the several objects herein reported, which concern the American people, we have adduced strong and sufficient motives for the publication of the Geneva pamphlet, which contains the most important facts and antecedents of the Cuban conflict. Whether the solution proposed therein be feasible or not, it is not our part to say.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

A few words on this subject may not be out of place here. Events transpired in the island of Cuba have demonstrated as it must have been ascertained, by the diplomatic and consular representatives of this nation, that a struggle has existed for the last forty years on this subject. The Cuban commissioners at Madrid expressed their sentiment on this subject: "Cuba is no longer bent," they said, "on sustaining negro slavery. . . . Cuba has availed herself of the first opportunity to protest against the common responsibility between the country and the African trade. . . . A cause," they said, "based on the precedents of slavery, is irretrievably lost at the tribunal of human conscience;" and on the 26th of April, 1867, they proposed to the Government to abolish slavery in a few years, indemnifying the loss through a loan of \$15,000,000, the payment of which should be proportionately distributed among the expenditures during fifteen years; and, in order to make the outlays less heavy, they prayed that the large disbursements incumbent on the nation to pay, which were unjustly drawn from the Cuban tax-payers, could and should be excluded from the budget of the colony.

Notwithstanding these facts, men of business everywhere fall into the natural error of anticipating ruin and devastation as the unavoidable consequences of emancipation, and they point to the bloody result of San Domingo as a warning. The ex-Intendente Villamil says that, "as there exist powerful reasons to condemn slavery, outlawed as it is, there is no need

preceding, provides that real estate belonging to foreigners should contribute with such imports as gravitate on them.

The expression "gravitate" is intended to convey the idea of generally and regularly established imposts which fall on the objects from their own weight, as the mortgage based upon a royal order.

for further legislation about it ; it will be enough to administer properly the present laws, publishing the gradual progress of liberation, to satisfy skeptical minds, and do away with pretexts for opposition at home and criticism abroad of our colonial policy." The idea that tropical products would cease with the abolition of slavery predominates in the judgment of the above writer, in common with the body of Peninsular Spaniards. But a few remarks on the difficulties apprehended in a change of the status of the laborer may possibly show them to be less than they seem, or that the continuance of slavery will not remove them.

The slaves are not many in proportion to the whole population, and in this respect, it is well known, the situation is much more favorable to freedom in Cuba than it was in any of the tropical countries at the time of the abolition of slavery. Emancipation is not now considered as necessarily causing ruin within the tropics, as was once the honest belief. When suddenly imposed in the British and French possessions, the implements and system of agriculture and manufacture were positively in their infancy. Cheap, abundant, and rough labor, such as Africa could furnish, was the foundation of wealth in those regions. The human body, easily replaced and little valued, was cared for accordingly, and planters were generally, as usual in slave countries, struggling under heavy debt, vainly but ever fancying themselves on the eve of acquiring a fortune. In Cuba, where sugar is the staple production on estates which really yield profits, the capital consisting in slaves is comparatively small, and buildings, complicated machinery, and well-cultivated fields, constitute at the present day the bulk of the estimated value.

Furthermore, the laborers disseminated over more than one-half of the island, either voluntarily or reluctantly, have in great numbers, during the vicissitudes of the rebellion, left their homes, some returning and others not. Thus the restless feeling perceptible in the masses at the commencement of the outbreak has been augmented. Good policy, therefore, if not paramount necessity, should teach Spain to adopt a measure calculated to restore quiet, and establish the regular operations of industry and agriculture, without the exorbitant

outlay demanded from private individuals, to protect property from incendiarism and depredations. It is not unreasonable to suppose that conservative and enlightened planters, Spaniards among them, would accept a solution of the slavery question, answering the desire for peace and order, and satisfactory to the cry of liberty for the masses.

In order practically to show that the advantages of reciprocity in the trade with America are far more valuable than preservation of slavery, we notice, taking as a basis exports before the rebellion, that the estimated 2,600,000 boxes of sugar imported into the United States bear a weight of taxation and duties of about four cents per lb., equal to \$44,200,000. This sum is arrived at estimating the box at 425 lbs., and the duties on imports as follows :

Export duty in Cuba, including war-tax	$\frac{1}{2}$ cent per lb.
Import duty in Cuba on articles required for the production of sugar	$\frac{1}{4}$ "
Territorial taxes in Cuba equal to	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Mean rate of duty in the United States, 2 c.	
Twenty-five per cent. added since last Congress	$2\frac{1}{2}$ "
Total	4 cents.

Without taking into account the remaining one-fifth of the sugar exports, or molasses, tobacco, etc., the amount of \$44,000,000 in round numbers exceeds by far the \$28,000,000 required to pay 200,000 laborers at the rate of twelve dollars a month which is now performed by slaves.

Fortunately, therefore, the security and productiveness of rural enterprises can be combined hereafter in Cuba with the claims of justice and human rights.

SPAIN AND CUBA.

“The motto of all or nothing involves a serious political error.”

MINGHETTI.

“There is a given class of ideas which may be slaughtered but not degraded.”

WE come once more before the public, to break a silence of seven years, during which reason and truth could not be heard because of the excitement of frantic passions. Now, on the contrary, the Peninsular Spaniards of Cuba seem to enter a period of comparative quiet; the wealthy Spaniards of Havana commence to recover that influence of which they have been deprived by the turbulent masses; and captains-general discharge their duties with no danger of being shipped away by their subordinates.

We see, on the other hand, that the unstable governments which during the last five years have ruled over the Peninsula are superseded by the legitimate monarchy of centuries, with its national conditions of strength, order, and moderation; that the Carlists are on the eve of being vanquished; that the Cortes are about to meet; and, lastly, that the time is near at hand when, with the restoration of peace and harmony throughout Spain, she may be able to contemplate calmly and impartially the events which beyond the Atlantic are annihilating her most valued colony.

Such a state of things inspires confidence; encourages the mind to ask for justice, and it even induces the hope that it may be possible to obtain it. If, unfortunately, we should be

mistaken, if the advisers of him who calls himself the king of all Spaniards should reject our petition, we shall always enjoy the satisfaction of having discharged a sacred duty.

The most efficient way to eradicate an evil is to remove the causes from which it arises. We ask, therefore, "What causes in 1868 produced the insurrection of Cuba?" A few paragraphs will suffice to make them known.

From the commencement of this century there existed a strong political bond between the Great Antille and the mother-country. The deputies of the former appeared at the Cortes in 1812, 1820, and 1834, and, although such representation was of little practical advantage to the island, it signified the acknowledgment of legitimate right, it maintained the dignity of the islanders, and kept alive on the other side of the ocean the great and fruitful idea of one common country and nationality.

Notwithstanding this, in 1836, doubtless under the influence of a Governor-General of Cuba, who since the day of Ayacucho swore everlasting hatred toward everything American, the Progresista majority of the Cortes resolved to exclude and did exclude from the National Congress the deputies from the Antilles, refusing even to receive the energetic but respectful protest of those deputies. Without one definite motive and with no pretext, however small, Spain broke the political tie which since the time of Charles V. had bound America to her, refusing all defense to the victim, and inflicting on her sons beyond the seas an increasing grievance for which floods of blood have since been shed. The measure was so violent and iniquitous, that the same Cortes, either to justify it or from remorse, voted an additional article to the Constitution of 1837, to the effect that the colonies should be ruled by special laws.

It is now thirty years since that solemn promise was made, but, though it was subsequently confirmed by Article LXXX. of the Constitution of 1845, it is yet unfulfilled. Is there any one who can characterize this course as either just or noble?

Moreover, Cuba, thus deprived since 1837 of political life in Spain, was likewise kept without it on her own soil. By royal order of 28th of May, 1825, her captain-general had been invested with the same powers held by governors of besieged

towns, with authority to expatriate from the island every one whose public or private conduct inspired him with suspicion. It is easy to imagine the great abuse which must have originated from such unbounded authority ; but it is not our purpose to relate the actions of any particular ruler, because a day will come when history shall judge them all according to their acts.

Enough to say, that in unhappy Cuba arbitrary and despotic government has only been checked, by the greater or lesser intelligence and the better or worse character of the individuals who, with no responsibility whatever, have at their own caprice disposed of life and property in the full glare of the nineteenth century.

And it should be noted that the position of Superior Governor having been filled habitually by generals in the Spanish army, their qualifications and antecedents of the soldier have made them little suited to initiate, direct, and resolve the numberless complex affairs of an active, wealthy, industrious, and enlightened people. The chiefs placed at the head of the several departments and districts into which Cuba is subdivided have also been soldiers ; and these authorities, it is unnecessary to add, being supremely ignorant, have in the discharge of their subordinate functions gone much beyond the excesses of which they had the example in their superior in office.

No wonder, therefore, that there should have been a Governor of Matanzas who, being dissatisfied, in 1854, with the residence provided by the municipality for those of his class, by his own exclusive authority imposed on the inhabitants of his district an extraordinary tax, raising thereby so large a sum that he built with it a palace in which his fortunate successors have since resided. Thus it happens that any brigadier in the army can do in Cuba what the king dare not do in Spain.

No right to initiate a measure is permitted even to the municipalities. The corporation of Matanzas addressed the governor-general a petition in 1843, complaining of the open scandal caused by the landing of freshly-imported Africans within its boundaries ; but, not only was the corporation re-proved, but the individuals who started the idea were expa-

triated and died in exile. This fact, among many others which might be cited, proves that the Cubans, both individually and in corporate bodies, are deprived of the very first of political rights, i. e., the right of petition.

Of course, the press, subjected to strict censorship, has not been able to discuss anything of importance to that country. Its *rôle* has ever been merely that of a slave who is expected to burn incense in honor of her master, and to palliate to public opinion the most wanton outrages, witnessing the increase, since 1838, in the slave-trade, and the incredible venal acts to which it frequently led. The press was bound to keep silent, when not compelled to applaud.

From that date Cubans were systematically excluded from public offices on the island, which by 1840 had become the patrimony of favorites sent from Spain. These boasted, with some honorable exceptions, that they had not come to America to enjoy the air, but to acquire a fortune for themselves, and so successful were the arts employed that the greater number obtained that end in the short period allotted before the arrival of successors who, like themselves, came in search of gold. Cabinets were changed in Madrid with painful rapidity, and each one brought on a new remittance of *protégés* attached to its banner. The bureaucratic system was thereby developed, and, in order to reward a greater number of political adherents in the Peninsula, new offices and administrative centres were created in Cuba, which, besides being useless excrescences and veritable sinecures, increased the colonial budget.

Who, living in Spain, may not name many functionaries of high or low degree who, after four or five years' residence in Cuba, and even a less time, have returned scandalously wealthy? The school of immorality thus established has continued to sink its roots deeper and deeper; and, moreover, these Peninsular Spaniards, as a body, are wholly unacquainted with the nature, habits, and mode of life in the Great Antille, and, just as they begin to learn the same, their successors in office appear; and this incessant novitiate, coupled with the contemptuous neglect of the opinion of the people among whom we run the race of a fleeting meteor, has corrupted

public administration in Cuba to its very foundations. And yet, those who are born, who live and die there; those who from a filial love would labor to make the material, intellectual, and moral progress of the island permanent—not dazzling and transient—the Cubans, dare not complain of such egregious evils, nor ask a remedy, because they would be instantly visited with an anathema for being bad Spaniards, or perchance condemned to perpetual banishment. The fundamental principle that taxes shall be discussed and voted by those who pay them, is regarded in Cuba as an abominable heresy. Taxes are established and increased at the will of the rulers without ever being submitted previously to the Cubans, who are never informed of their application, and never even permitted, after the Government has fixed the total amount, to have them collected on articles and by means which, though not the same as the official ones, would in the end be less burdensome to the country.

There is one order of ideas which, like the fire of the vestal of old, is kept alive through all time, and everywhere pure and untouched, because it is held sacred: we mean the administration of justice. Yet Cuba, in the midst of her sufferings, has not even had that consoling refuge; but, as this pamphlet must not be enlarged to the size of a book, and as it is not our purpose to raise the bandage that covers the ulcers of our contemporaneous judiciary, we shall restrict ourselves to stating that one captain-general did in a single day dismiss from the bench eight judges of the High Court of Appeals of Havana; and if this measure, applied to the highest court on the island, was unpardonable, the dependent condition of inferior judges may from this act be inferred.

The picture which we have so rapidly sketched is simply the reflection of the normal condition of Cuba for half a century. While enjoying complete peace and quiet, the legal order of the administration was restricted solely to excluding the Cubans from political communion with Spain; to forbidding their intervention of whatever kind in the public affairs of the island; to gagging their tongues and restraining their pens; to depriving them, even, of the right to complain or petition for remedy; and, lastly, to reducing them to the ab-

ject condition of a race inferior to their parents, having always the spectacle of their shame before them, with no other future for their children than the same sad degradation.

SECOND.

Discontent was general, and all the deeper was the indignation excited because the evil was attributed to an abuse by Spain of her superior power. The Cubans felt, in silence, bitter humiliation not without dreading that their patience under enormous grievances might be regarded as vileness rather than loyalty. Many an ardent youth sought relief in absence, and went over to the United States, where they had opportunities to contrast the lot of their country with that of a nation overflowing with life, power, and wealth, acquired through political freedom, through labor, and respect for individual rights. From the comparison arose the idea of the annexation of Cuba to the American Union. The time seemed propitious. The politicians of Mississippi and the two Carolinas, who felt their influence waning in consequence of the admission of the Territory of Kansas as a free State, took up with pleasure the project of a new and populous slave State whose deputies and senators would aid them to regain preponderance in Congress.

Carried away by illusions ever fostered by strong desires, the Cuban emigrants endeavored to propagate their hopes, and obtained the coöperation of the Spanish General Narciso Lopez. An expedition under his command started for Cuba in 1850, and landed at Cardenas, of which it took possession almost without opposition, but after sixty hours was obliged to leave, because the country lent it no aid, while a strong government force was approaching.

On their return to New York the same party of discontented Cubans gathered fresh means, and in 1851 another expedition, also headed by Lopez, landed on the northern coast near Bahia Honda, and had sharp encounters with the Spanish troops, in which the Spanish General Enna lost his life. It advanced into the interior, but without being joined by any one, and after nineteen days of wandering, broken into small parties and suffering from hunger, the chief was taken pris-

oner and executed. Almost simultaneously, and probably mistaking the watchword previously concerted, Don Agustín Agüero at Príncipe, and Don Isidoro Armenteros at Trinidad, rose in arms; but these leaders, unable to increase the small number of adherents whom they took to the field, fell into the hands of the Government and were shot.

The blood, however, which was shed abundantly on this occasion did not stay the idea of annexation, because an idea is only destroyed by another of greater vitality. Yet the scheme framed in Havana, in 1854, for annexing Cuba to the great Republic, was of a character entirely different from the one preceding it.

The first was disinterested, generous, and patriotic, whereas the second, concerted by capitalists and wealthy property-holders, originated in the egotistical and unchristian idea of perpetuating slavery in Cuba. The conspiracy concocted for this purpose collapsed, however; and Don Ramon Pinto, who was considered by the local government as its head, died on the scaffold, though the counselor of the captain-general, Señor García Camba, stated as his legal opinion that the case lacked the proofs required by the law to declare him guilty.

The strict impartiality which we have adopted as our rule in writing this paper has made it necessary for us to narrate these events. But it must have been noticed that they all appertain to a brief period of four years; that each one had only a very brief existence; that they were energetic explosions of rage bursting from a small body of ardent hearts; and that the masses of the Cuban population, notwithstanding their sympathy with the object of the expeditionists, stood dumb and immovable.

For these reasons, and because the hateful government imposed by the Peninsula on her colony was anterior by far to the events just reported, we are justified in repeating what we before asserted, namely, that Spain organized and perfected a tyrannical system against Cuba when the island enjoyed the most profound peace and quiet; and, also, that said system was the origin and direct cause of those explosive and desperate revolutionary efforts.

It was the civil war, so unexpectedly brought on in the

United States, which fixed the sentiment of the Cubans. They at once became aware that, in the giant strife carried on by the Southern and Northern sections of the republic, nothing less than the future of the Great Antille was at stake. They discovered that, under pretense of self-government for each State, was disguised the real object of the war, which was the preservation and extension of slavery. In spite of the favorable result of the first battles for the South, they foresaw the final triumph of justice over interest based on laws already undermined by public opinion. And, convinced that the violent extinction of the involuntary labor of the negroes in Cuba would surely ruin her, they undertook to avert the danger by such means as were within their reach: their conservative and peaceful purposes, however, were stayed by an insurmountable obstacle.

Before the dawning of this century, as Humboldt tells us in his "Political Essay on Cuba," her most illustrious sons wrote against the slave-trade; but the dominant Peninsular party, for the sake of the fabulous gains to be acquired through that illicit commerce, charged them with being abolitionists, and inimical to the mother-country; thus causing the local government to exile the most influential of them to foreign lands, there to expiate their philanthropy. What occurred at that period in the neighboring republic must have increased suspicions on the subject, and closed the door to any national debate. But at last the victory of the North over the South, in 1864, convinced the most stubborn that the hour of the freedom of Cuban slaves had also sounded, and that it was useless to oppose the torrent of accomplished facts and the public sentiment of the world. It was known, however, to the Cuban liberal party, that the local government had considered slavery a useful weapon against its aspirations for reform; and, for this reason, that party accepted as its own triumph the results of the American war. But, wise and patriotic as it was, that party applied itself to find the best mode of preparing for the impending change in the rural labor of the island: it did not hesitate to invite the Peninsular Spaniards having property and family to aid in the study and solution of the fearful problem; and, adopting for its plan the

liberalizing of the colonial system under the Spanish flag, it founded the newspaper named *El Siglo*, for the diffusion and defense of its views.

The debate carried on by the press on the most vital questions, the support received from the comparatively liberal policy of the Duke de la Torre, and General Don Domingo Dulce, who at that time succeeded one another in command, and the ups and downs of parties in Spain, led the cabinet of O'Donnell and Canovas to prepare for the fulfillment of the promise made to the provinces beyond the sea; and they accordingly convened a junta of inquiry constituted by commissioners elected by the municipalities of Porto Rico and Cuba, which should report the social, economical, and political reforms required. This junta held its sessions during the close of 1866 and commencement of 1867. The commissioners discharged their duties with that loyalty which belongs to honest and enlightened men, who love the land of their birth. Among other objects the Cubans asked for the gradual extinction of slavery, recommending a project which included indemnification for the property; and they also asked that Cuba should be governed through an assembly composed of members elected by the municipalities and presided over by the governor-general appointed by the crown.

Under severe penalties complete secrecy was enjoined touching the labors of the junta; and hence it is that the results of those labors were deposited in the Ministry of the Colonies, where the original reports still lie, as in their grave. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the proceedings, reports, and speeches, were printed in New York in a book, the perusal of which we recommend to the public men of Spain who may desire to be thoroughly informed on the subject, so as to appreciate the high-minded views, good practical sense, and moderation of style, of the Cuban commissioners on the occasion of that remarkable historic episode.

The ominous reward which they received for their loyal efforts is well known. On the same day (February 15, 1867) when the Government declared the inquiry to be closed, it issued a decree increasing by ten per cent. the Cuban taxes, and it stated in mockery that said action was based on the

exposition of the commissioners of the island. It was in vain that the latter protested against the misconstruction of the truth. The protest remained unanswered, and, together with the other antecedents of the matter, now lies in utter oblivion. These unauspicious tidings crossed the seas with electric rapidity, to spread wonder, consternation, and confusion, among men who expected, with chivalrous confidence, the declaration of those special laws promised thirty years before.

Gratuitous sarcasm, jest, and affront, so astounding, were never before thrust in the face of a whole people. And let it be noted that the people of Cuba are not a compound of Indians, negroes, or sepoys, as stated by a Madrid paper, which boasts of its moderation and culture; that people is composed of haughty and courageous men, in whose veins circulates Castilian blood from old, and who in the capacity for civilized life yield nothing to those even who, without knowing, deride them. It was a Cuban who by the side of Daoiz fired on the 2d of May, 1808, the first gun against the hosts of Murat, an event recorded in a marble slab which adorns the house of his birth at Havana. It was a Cuban who, breaking through secular prohibitions by which Spain had repelled foreign trade, threw open the splendid ports of the island to all nations. Cubans were those who, in their country, constructed railroads and telegraphic lines, years before Spain dreamed of having such; those who introduced the cane from Tahiti, and the powerful steam-plough, which for material progress should be there considered as two peaceful revolutions; those also were Cubans who proved practically that a sugar-estate worked by free hands, whether white or colored, was an undertaking not only possible, but profitable, in the Great Antille; also those who, taught by travels abroad, studies, and perseverance, have initiated and diffused numberless improvements in machinery and agriculture, so far as to double, without increasing the hands, the production and wealth of the country; those who jointly with the impulse of material progress consecrated their efforts to moral and intellectual advance; and to them it is due that, struggling against obstacles ever rising in their path, knowledge became so extended

that, while the statistics of Spain showed that eighty-two per cent. of her population knew neither how to write nor to read, the ratio was only sixty in Cuba in 1869; and that while one-half only of the members of corporations possessed said knowledge, it was possessed by the whole of the class in Cuba.

It is therefore easy to understand how deeply such a people must resent the astounding grievance which had just been inflicted on them. By the laughable solution given by the Supreme Government to the "Inquiry," the monstrous axiom that Spaniards did not beget children of their own nationality was confirmed; it was as much as to tell the Cubans that the latter were intended for the exclusive use of their parents, and that it would be vain to ask for rights never to be obtained. "*Lasciate ogni speranza.*"

A paroxysm of rage succeeded. No thought was given to the inequality of the contest; the adversaries were not counted; the conflict was inevitable, if not for victory, for the honor of the strife: it was imperative to surrender life, in homage to the most holy and just of causes.

The honored financial chief (intendente), Don Joaquin Alba, seems to have foreseen these consequences when, announcing in the official gazette the immediate collection of the new tax, he said that, although the imposition of heavy additional taxes was at times the cause of sanguinary opposition, he nourished the conviction that the loyal inhabitants of the island would obey in peace what the Madrid Government had ordered.

There is, therefore, no connection whatever, as some impassioned writers have pretended, between the revolution of September, in Spain, and the one which broke out in the Great Antille on the 10th of October, 1868. No! the "Yara cry" was a yell of despair; it was the manly protest of a people who felt that they were treated like a vile herd; it was indisputable evidence that the Cubans, worthy descendants of the conquerors of the New World, had kept unabated the indomitable pluck of the Iberian race.

An attempt has been made, through wickedness or ignorance, to stain the names of the parties who started the revolution at Bayamo, describing them as ruined adventurers in

search of lucre and importance in the commotion of the country. But Cuba in a body knows but too well, and so do her rulers, that the Aquileras, Cespedes, Agramontes, Arangos, Varonas, Figueredos, Cisneros, and other leaders, who hoisted the banner of independence, were the heads of the most ancient and respectable families, and also the wealthiest in 1868 in the central and eastern departments. Limiting our remarks to one of the party, because the nature of this paper would not allow greater detail, we say that it is public and notorious that Don Francisco Vicente Aguilera Tamayo married Da. Anna Kindelan, granddaughter of a Spanish general in command in Cuba, and the father of seven sons, was the owner of two sugar-estates at the time mentioned, also of many houses in Bayamo, and of the greater part of the vast tract of land extending from said city to Santiago de Cuba, a tract which was granted, as a commission for services rendered, to his progenitor on the mother's side, Captain Rodrigo Tamayo, one of the companions of Diego Velasquez, who arrived in Cuba in the early part of the sixteenth century. We ask, Are bandits and vagrants thus qualified by their antecedents?

History will record two great truths: that Spain, through her injustice, provoked the revolution of Cuba; and that the men who headed it have been in every respect worthy of the ideas of which it was the emblem. The seven years which the contest has lasted, although unexpectedly commenced without any arms or military resources whatever, accredit our second assertion, besides a hundred other considerations which we omit; and all this has taken place in opposing a disciplined and tenacious enemy, who has had a strong fleet to watch the coasts and who has brought successively to the field of battle 120,000 soldiers.

We will not go into details about the insurrection, because our purpose is to calm, not to exasperate the passions. Perhaps unconsciously to herself, or through her impotency, Spain has conducted this war in an inhuman and horrible manner. She was wrong in engrossing the ranks of the volunteers with men coming from all sources. It was worse to organize troops with men taken from the penitentiary; because any civilized nation takes care always not to stain by contact with the

scum of society the personification of national honor which lies in the army. How can we wonder that commanders and officers who were willing to command soldiers gathered from jails, should by their cruelties give occasion to the President of the United States to say with justice, and officially, to his country and to the whole world, that General Valmaseda and Commandant Gonzales Boet had committed barbarous deeds which cause humanity to shudder?

There cannot exist two weights or two measures. Justice is the same for all parties: while we deplore and condemn the burning of private estates, which is the means practised by the insurrection as an instrument of war, we are also bound to deplore and condemn numberless deeds of those who uphold the banner of Castile. If there should be in the next Cortes some deputy, zealous of the nation's good name, who should desire to be informed of the horrors committed under the folds of the Spanish flag, let him ask of the Colonial Department the communications sent to Madrid since 1868 to the present time, by the captains-general of that island; let him call up, in the Supreme War Court of Justice, the proceedings established for the revisal by the council of officers which absolved Commandant Gonzales Boet of his crimes; let him demand the case instituted against a captain in the army who feasted his regimental companions with a dish of ears cut on the field of battle from the bodies of the dead insurgents who had fallen in fair strife; let him ask for the history of the case which sent to a criminal penitentiary thirty-four boys of Havana, and eight more to be shot by a detachment of volunteers, for a crime which they had not committed; lastly, let him read and compare the two proclamations issued by Count Valmaseda in the second and seventh years of the insurrection, and he will find the burning of property and houses of the insurgents directed under regulations, and denunciations and murder rewarded.

Certainly the Cuban war and its determining causes have not been and are not an honor to Spain. King Alfonso, his counselors, the new Cortes, and every one who cherishes the Spanish name, should hasten to wash away the stain which has fallen upon her. It is a calumny to say that the insur-

gents deserve the penalty due to professional evil-doers. There is nothing glorious to be gained by misleading for a moment public opinion, or by laying infamy upon adversaries with whom one battles. The men who have sacrificed life, property, friends, and family, in noble fight, or who ascended the scaffold with heroic courage and the immovable serenity shown in the days of Charles V., Padilla, Bravo, and Maldonado, have merited and will ever deserve respect at the hands of their greatest enemies.

The bloody character impressed by the Spanish Government on the war of Cuba, and the hatred ostentatiously proclaimed against the islanders by some leading men who fill high political posts, contrast with the course followed respecting Carlists. Several Madrid papers, carried away either by resentment or through other motives, stigmatize as bandits, incendiaries, and false sons of a country which has never been a true country to them, those fighting in America for their rights as free-men, while they regard the followers of Don Carlos merely as deluded and deceived. Although the latter in reality are stronger opponents to the union of the nation than the Cubans, if they should lay down their arms they would find an immediate cordial reception; the past would be wholly forgotten, and they would be rewarded even by the recognition of the military grades obtained in the service of the faction! On the contrary, for the Cubans there is no alternative except death on the battle-field, or death on the plea of suspicion when taken suddenly from their quiet and defenseless homes.

And yet, what an enormous difference between the two causes, all in favor of the natives of Cuba, if we consider the justice of each case, and its results as they may affect Spain!

To the national life of the Peninsula the Cubans and the Basques constitute two exceptions: the former, because they do not participate absolutely in any political right; the latter, because they enjoy many more than the rest of their countrymen. The Basques have enjoyed and do enjoy every legal way to offer complaints and to obtain redress, while the inhabitants of Cuba, restrained within an iron circle forged by the law-maker, have only had to look for remedy to a desper-

ate appeal to arms. The Carlist War has caused the ruin of numerous families ; has cost Spain as much or more blood than that of Cuba ; it has brought her down to the painful necessity of defaulting in the discharge of engagements, both national and foreign ; and, however impossible it may be, were the Basques to succeed through their secession sentiment, Spain would become so dismembered that she would recede to the state of a simple geographical name, more so than was once said of Italy under similar circumstances.

Cuba, on the contrary, separated from the mother-country by the ocean, is not indispensable to the existence of the Peninsula as a nation ; and we have heard it so affirmed by eminent Spaniards now filling high official posts. And, lastly, the history of the Cuban insurrection does not record one single act similar to those perpetrated by Carlists, reviewing those committed by the curate of Santa Cruz down to the last massacre at Estella.

Why, then, that animosity against the islanders ?

Why are they not dealt with as the Carlists are ? Can it be because their war-cry has been, "Death to Spain ?" But does that cry mean else than death to arbitrary rule, death to despotism, and to the official corruption of the colony ? Is not that cry the reproduction of the words addressed to the Cortes by Salustiano Olozaga—"It is time that Spain should learn to be mother and not step-mother of the Cubans ?" Is not that war-cry an echo of the terrible anathema hurled by the great orator Castellar from the elevated standpoint of the Spanish Congress ? "If it be so," he said, "that the genius of Spain is to be always represented in America by a permanent state of siege, by the boot of the captain-general, by the Babylon of sugar-estates, and, far in the distant horizon, by the black sail loaded with human flesh, oh, then, gentlemen, say with me, accursed be the genius of our country !"

A truce, then, to falsehood and insult. If, as it has been said, Spaniards have been able to make everything in America excepting Spaniards of their sons, let us study the causes of so frightful an aberration which is so repugnant to Nature, and it will be found that the former have been constantly at work to reduce the latter to the condition of an inferior race,

only adapted to be wretched instruments of their monopolies and speculations.

It behooves the present Spanish monarchy to put an end at once, by one great act of justice, to the calamities of Cuba, if it desires not to be accused by civilized nations of being a willing accomplice in the political oppression now ruling there.

It is time that there should be light, and we shall be the gainers thereby. A noble example to imitate is offered to the political men of Spain in the generous course of Lord Chatham when the War of Independence was started in the United States; and let it not be forgotten that the countrymen of that distinguished patriot who lived in his day named him the most English of all Englishmen, and that the epithet has been confirmed by posterity.

The financial crisis which, as a consequence of the war, weighs on Cuba; the reduction of her wealth by the destruction of all kinds of estates; the enormous debt resting on the colonial treasury; the deficit of the budgets; the difficulties ever increasing in the collection of taxes, because their sum would very soon absorb the reduced proceeds of all property; the unhinged condition of all branches of the public administration, which, owing to its corruption, has been fitly called by a Madrid paper the "Augean stable;" the change in the attitude of the Anglo-American Republic, which, having been a listless spectator of the seven years' contest, now invites the great European powers to interfere in the matter, so that she may be left free to act by herself if their concurrent aid be refused—all this imposing array of facts and circumstances calls for the quick solution of the problem, before Spain shall be reduced to the sad alternative of accepting or repelling open intervention; before she may be forced to grant, perhaps with dishonor, what she should now concede from her own self-respect, as the *Journal des Débats*, of Paris, has just asserted.

There is no use in being fed with fancies. The Cuban insurrection should not be ended with bayonets, but with justice. A deadly tropical climate, the impenetrable fastnesses of her virgin forests, and, more than all, the war carried on without quarter, are the powerful allies of the rebels. The ulti-

mate triumph of Spain would add no glory to her flag, as the resources of both belligerents are so unequal; yet were she vanquished, which would be most difficult, but not impossible, in the long-run, she would be covered with shame.

Spain should reject the wicked course forced on her by those uncompromising Spaniards of Cuba; she should draw the Cubans out of the wretched condition in which they simply vegetate; let her allow them to have a country with the rights of citizens; let her fulfill her repeated promises with good faith, and this alone will cause the insurgents to throw down their arms—yes, provided the complete suspension of hostilities by Spanish troops should be simultaneously decreed; provided the embargoes and confiscations of estates be raised, and amnesty be extended to all rebels, without excepting one of the leaders.

We belong to no political party, either on this or the other side of the Atlantic; but our travels and our social relations have placed us in contact with many of the important men of the Cuban war-party. We have heard from their lips that, while determined with stoic firmness to reduce to ashes their country rather than allow it to continue to be a machine for speculation for Spain, they reject annexation to the United States, because in that event the African race would soon predominate; and for the very same reason they consider that her separation from Spain, or her independence now, would be ominous for Cuba.

With the knowledge of what has been stated above, will the Madrid Government obstinately continue to exterminate the insurgents, while the latter carry the incendiary torch into the fields and cities of that island? Would it not be more sagacious, expedient, and magnanimous, to forget the past, to throw wide open the doors of peace, harmony, and justice? Spain, being the most powerful, can afford to be generous, without losing prestige and authority. The Cubans are anxious to live like a high-minded and free people under the flag planted in America by her ancestors; and there is no reason whatever to refuse or defer longer their legitimate aspirations. No effort of fancy is needed to foreshadow the consequences of so munificent a national act. By the suspension of hos-

tilities the expenditures of the war estimates are at once lessened; the host of emigrants wandering in foreign countries will return to their native soil; confidence will be renewed; millions of dollars which had disappeared from the island, looking for security, will come back like gushing torrents; the now exorbitant premium on gold will fall; exchange will become regular; enterprise will be aroused to numberless objects which call for its action, and the two proud factions heretofore in opposition, feeling now that the blood spilt and the bitterness endured have ended in fraternity, the more sincere since it would be based on the honor of all, will dedicate their efforts to building up a splendid future for Cuba—not like the Bible colossus, whose golden head contrasted with feet of clay, but like a vast temple, built of solid and undecaying granite. God forbid that we should gratuitously offend Spain, supposing that, after the numberless hecatombs of children, men, and women, sacrificed through the failure of the “Inquiry” of 1867, she should seek to repeat the same solution under forms more or less disguised! We refuse to believe that Spain intends to deceive the civilized world by a Machiavelic interpretation of the spirit which inspired the promise of special laws to govern Cuba. By studying the records of the sessions of the Cortes prior to the adoption of the decree of the Constitution of 1836 and 1845, it will be seen that by that declaration the legislators intended to reserve to themselves the power to grant self-government to Cuba. The decree issued in 1866, for the well-known commission of inquiry, by the cabinet of O'Donnell and Canovas, in its text will unfold the paramount idea of organizing a complete political life in the West Indies.

Let it be recalled that, three months after the uprising at Yara, and when General Lersundi was in command, eighty distinguished citizens went to the palace to confirm what has been stated here, one half of whom were Cubans and the other half Spaniards, among the latter some who a little later filled the first official posts of the nation.

Let it be remembered, lastly, that under Lersundi's successor, and while many Peninsular and native Spaniards insisted on the same views, meetings were held, authorized by the Government, where the scheme of a political constitution

best adapted to the special circumstances of Cuba was discussed, although the fruitful work of concord had to be suspended, in view of the threatening aspect manifested in those days by the press, and the uncompromising, turbulent Spanish masses of Havana.

Thus it is that what was always promised to the Great Antille, what it desires now, what in a complete state of peace was petitioned for by the colonial commissioners, and in 1868 and 1869 was approved by the conservative Hispano-Cuban party, consists in the government of the country by itself under the banner of the lions and the castles.

To grant only deputies to the Cortes, to establish a consultative council at Madrid for colonial objects, an idea which has been favored by some, or any half-way solution imported or badly copied from the system applied by France to her small colonies, besides being an anachronism, would leave alive active germs of renewed and more sanguinary future outbreaks to come, inasmuch as every day there are, and will be, born a greater number of Cubans.

Señor Canovas said in the preamble of the royal decree of November 25, 1865, referring to the "Inquiry," that the scientific and literary progress of Cuba and Porto Rico, their population and wealth, especially of the former, the growing extent and importance of their foreign commerce, placed them in an exceptional condition requiring very different laws from those in observance in other provinces beyond the seas.

The same Señor Canovas was empowered as minister, under the above-named decree, to interrogate the members of the "Junta of Inquiry," and ascertain whether it was expedient that "all political rights established for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Peninsula and adjacent islands should be applied to the two sister Antilles, or whether they should be to a certain extent modified."

The idea of the Government in 1865 went as far as the political assimilation of Cuba and Spain; and never could there be less reason than at present to deviate from a measure so fruitful if moulded into self-government, demanded as it is by the claims of family, of history, and of intrinsic justice, if the permanent pacification of the island is wished for in good

faith. Let the embrace between Cubans and Spaniards be brotherly and sincere, and, while quickly rising from the heavy burdens laid on her shoulders by the war, let Cuba be able to change without disturbance the social condition of her rustic laborers, thereby conciliating respect toward a holy principle with the preservation of the work of civilization.

To come down to details about the future constitution of Cuba would be out of time and place here; yet we think it proper to say a few words on the subject.

Its first chapter should secure the inherent rights of every civilized man; those which are so identified with his existence that, without them, even were the Cubans to obtain every political franchise, their condition would offer slight change. It is imperative that the islanders should be secured against arrest, imprisonment, or exile from their country; against having their homes invaded, excepting in the cases and through the forms prescribed by law; they should only be accountable for their acts before the ordinary courts of justice; they should be permitted to express freely their ideas by word or writing, and to meet peacefully to discuss public affairs; exceptional courts should be suppressed, as well as permanent councils of war, unbounded and dictatorial authority, embargoes, and confiscation of property, and whatever else tends to outrage the dignity of man. With a view that these franchises be not frustrated, they must be guaranteed through a political organization reflecting, with some variations, the one in force in Spain, just as the light of a satellite is the reflection of that which comes from the centre of its orbit.

Therefore, the executive power with its logical functions should be exercised by the superior governor of the island, appointed by the crown, who should never control the military and naval forces.

The legislative power should be vested in a Colonial Assembly constituted of members elected by the municipalities of Cuba, possessing the requirements of the electoral law. Said Assembly should have authority to initiate, discuss, and resolve all public matters of the island; it should fix the system of taxation, pass laws for the protection of the press, regulate elections as well as the rights of assembly; it should diffuse

education among all classes, organize the administration of justice, and introduce into the codes now in force such changes as the island may require; it should propose to the home government postal and commercial treaties that may be convenient to enter into with foreign nations; it should authorize the construction of railroads, telegraph-lines, and other works of public improvements; it should patronize and promote agriculture, and the industry of the country; it should subdivide the cattle-estates now held in common by their owners; it should establish civil registration of the population, and the territorial census; it should determine the character of all officials in the island, their salaries and responsibilities; and, lastly, it should sanction or disapprove of the annual budget which it should be the duty of the governor-general of the colony to present.

The above-named Assembly (we especially invite intention to this point) should have the exclusive authority to determine measures intended for the final abolition of slavery. Cuba, who is the one to bear the immediate injuries following that serious event, and the Cubans who during half a century have been earnestly asking for it, should be permitted the honor of subscribing this great act of justice. It behooves the prestige of Spain not to refuse to grant that authority; and under its shield the property-holders of Cuba will cause to disappear forever an institution which, corrupting whatever it touches, is stigmatized by the sentiment of the whole world.

The advocates of the *status quo* in Cuba will doubtless raise a hue and cry at this suggestion, asserting that our request points to independence in a period more or less remote. Yes, that is the truth; but is there a way of avoiding it? How can the natural evolution be escaped which turns the child into a youth, and the youth into a full-grown man? Is there aught eternal in the life of individuals or of races?

Parties who, while united, bear a life of satisfaction and contentment, never separate from one another, excepting at the latest possible day. Does Canada claim independence now, although forty years ago she fought for it as Cuba does at present? No, and once more we say no, for the obvious reason that England, at the same time that she generously acknowledged her errors, granted the Canadians the power to

govern themselves, and from ardent rebels she turned them into grateful subjects, faithful to the British crown. Has any one dared to qualify as degrading or weak this magnanimous act of the British nation?

What would be Cuba's object in seceding from Spain, if the latter, by giving precedence to the dictates of justice and national honor, over the egotistical interest of a party, were to grant them, on a liberal political organization, solid foundation for a quiet and prosperous future? The relations between Cuba and her mother-land would then grow wonderfully. Immigration by whites, which the Cubans have at all times endeavored to promote, and which has been ever thwarted by the colonial government, would be much developed. The current of laborers, which from Catalonia and the Biscayan coast now runs to South America, would change its course and reach Cuba, in the certainty of being well received and of finding proper reward for their industry in the extraordinary fertility of the soil. Their children, Cubans like ourselves, would feel precisely the same anxieties and desire for the well-being of the island as their parents, and all would sing praises to Spain, as a common mother dispensing such blessings. This change appears to us so simple and natural, that we are at a loss to understand that it should be condemned as fanciful or impracticable, unless by uncompromising partisans of one or the other of the opposing parties.

Yes, a day will at last dawn when future generations will find Cuba with a population of four or five millions of white inhabitants, desirous to exercise sovereign power, and to completely secede from Spain. But this will take place causing neither fears, nor blood to be shed, and the well-ripened fruit will then show the richness and robustness of the branch from which Cuba sprung.

Two arguments have heretofore been employed with success by the advocates of the *status quo* in the Great Antille: the one is the inexpediency of abolishing the system of rule which has brought on Cuba unexampled prosperity; the other, the danger of innovations, in view of the persistent desire of the American Union to take possession of that colony. This last assertion is a mistake, and the first we call specious sophistry.

Let us begin by remembering that the prosperity of Cuba is eminently wicked, since those do not partake of it who contribute to produce the same by the sweat of their brows. Let us add that such prosperity is the more precarious, because slavery has no other refuge than Cuban in the civilized world.

Inasmuch as the customs produce much more in Cuba than in all the Peninsula, and the items of statistics and balance of trade show a greater movement in the colony than in Spain, it is easy to understand that the latter should be overflowing in commendation of the "Pearl of the Antilles" as a prosperous land. But, if we compare foreign colonies, possessing analogous conditions of feracity and cultivated by free hands, we shall notice a very remarkable difference.

Referring to the labors of the Commission of Inquiry of 1867, deposited in the archives of the Colonial Secretary, and which the Government ought to have printed in full with no delay, we find that the quantity of sugar drawn in Cuba, from cane harvested from a given area, is one-half the amount obtained at the Réunion, Jamaica, or Bengal, and one-third of the quantity obtained at Barbadoes and English Guiana.

After nearly four centuries elapsed since the discovery and colonization, Cuba has scarcely opened and cultivated a fourth of its area.

On its surface, which is almost the same as that of England proper, the population does not exceed 1,400,000 inhabitants, while in the former it exceeds 14,000,000 according to the last census. Australia, which thirty years ago was used as a station for the confinement of a certain class of criminals, counts now 2,300,000 souls, and shows a commercial movement of £90,000,000 in exports and imports, and Cuba only shows £40,000,000 from the same source, or one-half; it being worthy of notice that the growth of Australia is not chiefly based on its gold products, but on the cattle and wool trade, the value of which goes far beyond the gains from the mines.

It is but just, therefore, that the old-fashioned exaggerations of the progress of Cuba should be given up, because, taking into account the gifts which she owes to Nature, we must admit in truth that she is in her infancy.

The historical day has come when Spaniards and Cubans

should be frank, in order to overcome easily, for the weal of all, the mountain of obstacles which have been described as insuperable heretofore. The material development of Cuba, in spite of the worst of governments and the cancer of slavery, is chiefly due to its proximity to the United States.

From the latter she has acquired the impulse to act, and the fever of enterprise. She has obtained at a small cost, on account of the nearness of the coasts, the numberless mechanical implements to reduce the laborers in the manufactories of sugar, and to convey it quickly to the coast. The people of America have been and still are the great—and we were going to say the exclusive—consumers of the sugar and tobacco of the Antilles. Without that market of thirty millions of people, Cuba's production would have remained wretchedly small, and her opulence would never have been decried because not more than two hundred thousand boxes, out of the three millions, of sugar produced by the island, are taken to Spain, whereas the American Union purchases more than two millions.

Consequently, whatever be the station that Cuba holds, she holds it through her powerful republican neighbor, and the thermometer that fixes the value of her produce is to be found not in Madrid but in New York; her well-being is not altered through Spain's disturbances, but by the pecuniary circumstances of Anglo-American merchants; and whenever, by reason of war or any extraordinary emergency, the ports of that nation should be closed to us, want and appalling misery would be spread all over the island. Such is the naked truth, told in plain language, and with no exaggeration.

Yet more fragile is the second argument of the advocates of colonial *status quo*, when they assert that our neighbors are anxious to possess Cuba.

It is a fact that during the last thirty years, and during the six months preceding presidential elections, the press of one or another party published articles on annexation for the purpose of aiding the prospects of their respective candidates. It is also true that some excited groups have at times attempted to accomplish the idea with insignificant means. But all these doings, however alarming and inexplicable

they may seem to people who breathe the atmosphere of political death, are unavoidable in a country where freedom is untrammelled, and it can in no wise be charged to the Government.

The idea of taking possession of Cuba has never been entertained at Washington. Let it be remembered that, when the South American republics obtained independence, they thought it dangerous to their future existence that Spain should continue to possess the key of the Gulf of Mexico. Let it be remembered that, in order to avert the danger, Bolivar assembled a congress at Panama, and prepared an expedition under command of General Baez, which he had to give up because of strenuous opposition shown by the United States. Let it be taken into account that it was while the Democratic party lodged its President at the White House, that, under its aggressive policy and advocacy of the "Monroe doctrine," California was conquered and the Florida and Texas annexations took place, and withal the idea of acquiring Cuba was not even then seriously encouraged by the high functionaries of the Government.

These traditions of national views have become the acting policy since the Republican party has held power.

No opportunity could have been more favorable for the expulsion of Spain from her colony than the rising at Yara. To have acknowledged the belligerency of the rebels from the beginning would have been more than enough, yet the Government of the United States has abstained from the act. The views expressed in the Congress of Washington, by General Banks and his friends, inimical to Spain, drew forth a contrary sentiment from an immense majority accepting the reply by the great orator Sumner, who rejected the annexation of Cuba to the republic. Our argument is fully demonstrated by the peaceful solution of the rugged question of the Virginians, and most emphatically so by the fact that the Stars-and-Stripes are not waving over the battlements and castles of Havana. Spain, therefore, has nothing to fear from the United States, excepting in the event of hostilities; the Iberians would then show their traditional valor, but their antagonists would unquestionably obtain the ultimate triumph.

This contingency excepted, Spain's rights over Cuba will be respected, because the United States do not wish that the latter should be possessed by another and more powerful nation; and because, if they rule over the island, they would be obliged to keep in active service a considerable naval force to guard six hundred leagues of coast from the attack which, in case of war, might come from England or another great naval power taking advantage of that weak flank for the purpose. Moreover, it is known that the United States would see with repugnance even the peaceful acquisition of Cuba, because at present the nation is undergoing the painful work of social reconstruction, by assimilating to its numbers four millions of ignorant slaves, suddenly made free, who will be unable, at least until a second generation passes, to fulfill the new duties of free citizens.

However, for their honor and in obedience to the call of civilization, the United States will insist, perhaps with greater perseverance, smarting under the probable indifference of prejudiced Europe to Mr. Fish's note, on requiring from Spain the fulfillment of her promises to Cuba. They see in these promises the end of the horrors of war, and of the injury inflicted on American citizens. With their fulfillment the United States will expect to see Cuba freed from untold monopolies now weighing her down, and adding wondrously to her products, thereby offering to American capitalists and enterprise a field of trade and commerce much larger than that which is open there to-day.

We are about to close our remarks. To require the termination of the rebellion to take place, so as to grant to Cuba a new political organization, is to set down the results before the causes from which the former are derived; and, to do so, is to willfully prolong the shedding of blood.

The policy of forcible repression, so generally enhanced now, degenerates into parricide when coldly applied to civil wars. It is proper not to forget that the war in Cuba is a terrible expiation of a multitude of errors—an expiation which falls on all without exception, and leaves none untouched—one wherein no one will venture to throw the first stone, be.

he ruler or ruled. It is important, therefore, and imperative, to put aside means of coercion, to forget the past, to gain the good-will, to make men of one mind, and be guided not so much by the head, and more by the impulses of the heart.

An eminent Spanish writer says that, "when political passions result in blows and in the clash of arms, the victor will give the law at his will, and the subjected, though not vanquished, will take the first chance to try its fate once more; and quiet and peace are not to be reached until mutual concessions are made, and bonds and pledges are given in advance."

The Madrid *Epoca*, whose opinions cannot be suspected as partial, has also said that a spirit of compromise marks everywhere the sentiment of temperate men, and that to preserve, to progress, and to compromise, are the three important traits of a great administration.

Never was there a more fitting opportunity to apply these salutary maxims: Let the beginning be not to pardon, which is an offensive epithet, but to grant full amnesty to the insurgents, and to whoever has been exiled by government orders; let the embargoes and confiscations be raised; let Cuba be authorized to govern herself, and by this peaceful, reasonable,¹ and just means, the war will at once come to an end, and the principle of national integrity will be reconciled with the legitimate right of the Cubans, with no slight to Spain's high authority, nor derogatory capitulations from either party.

This is the only mode in which it behooves the young Don Alfonso to inaugurate a great and glorious reign.

It remains for the writer of these lines to explain why they are not subscribed with his name.

The state of things produced in Cuba by war and passions does not allow Cubans, even those who have resided many years in Europe, to state what takes place and what is wanted there, without incurring responsibilities which affect not solely the writer, but beloved beings dependent upon him. This is the reason why, for the first time in our life (and would to God it were the last!), we have taken refuge in an

¹ Martínez de la Rosa, "Historical Sketch of the Policy of Spain from the Time of the Catholic Kings down to our Days."—*Epoca*, March 18, 1871.

anonymous writing. But we are bound to add that, intimately connected as we are with Spanish society through the affectionate ties of friendship and family, it required no effort on our part to exclude from this paper words of hatred and sentiments of vengeance which our heart never nourished.

Our task is ended : would to Heaven that our words may find echo in Spain's public men, in whose hands are placed at present the destinies of Cuba ! Should it not be so, a day will come when posterity will call them to account, just as the civilized sentiment of the world does now, for so flagrant a denial to the demands of justice !

GENEVA, *February* 8, 1876.



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 015 814 113 9